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THE PACHOMIAN MONASTIC LIBRARY  
AT THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY  
AND THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE BODMER

*by* James M. Robinson

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CENTER FOR BASIC RESEARCH  
THE ORIGINS AND MEANING  
OF OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE:

THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

THE CLASSICAL CULTURE  
OF GREECE AND ROME

THE BIBLICAL WORLDS  
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## **The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer\***

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& Arthur Letts Jr. Professor of Religion,  
The Claremont Graduate School

The first Christian monastic order was founded in Upper Egypt by Pachomius early in the Fourth Century. What was left of its library was buried in the Seventh Century, to judge by the date of the latest material produced (ac. 1494, item 6 in the Inventory of Pachomian letters (see below, p. 21), a small papyrus roll containing an archival copy of Horsiesios' Letter 3 in Sahidic). It was discovered late in 1952 in Upper Egypt near Dishnā, and hence is referred to locally as the Dishna Papers, though it has been known to scholars up to the present primarily as the Bodmer Papyri. This nomenclature has obscured the fact that much of the material is scattered among some seven other repositories<sup>1</sup>, of which the Chester Beatty Library is the most important. I would like to lay this fascinating story

before you by describing the first Pachomian Monastery Library, then the Discovery and Marketing of the Library, then the Acquisitions by Sir Chester Beatty and Martin Bodmer, followed by an Inventory of the approximate contents of the Library, to which is appended a Postscript describing how the basic facts about the discovery and marketing of the library were established.

## 1. The Pachomian Monastery Library

Right after the conversion of the Roman Empire Pachomius founded the first monastic order of Christianity. It would be anachronistic to make inferences about its library from medieval monastic libraries. But something can be inferred from the Pachomian Order's own legends and rules.

*The First Greek Life of Pachomius* 63 gives some information about how books were viewed in the Pachomian Order:<sup>2</sup>

He [Pachomius] also used to teach the brothers not to give heed to the splendor and the beauty of this world in things like good food, clothing, a cell, or a book outwardly pleasing to the eye.

*The First Greek Life of Pachomius* 59 gives some impression of a Pachomian Library:<sup>3</sup>

No one would do anything in the house without permission from those in charge, not even visit a brother in his cell. In each house, the housemaster or the second keeps all the surplus clothings locked in a cell until the brothers need to wash and put on again those they are using. The books, which were in an alcove, were also under the care of these two. The brothers have no money, still less anything of gold; some of them died having never known such things. Only those entrusted with a ministry used money; and when they returned to the monastery they kept nothing with themselves for a single day and gave everything to the steward until they might go out again. And all that government is written in detail in the book of the stewards.

What is referred to as the book of the stewards is apparently the extant *Precepts*<sup>4</sup> where a rather massive literacy program is envisaged and occasional references to books and to the Library occur (*Precepts* 139, 140, 82, 100, 101):<sup>5</sup>

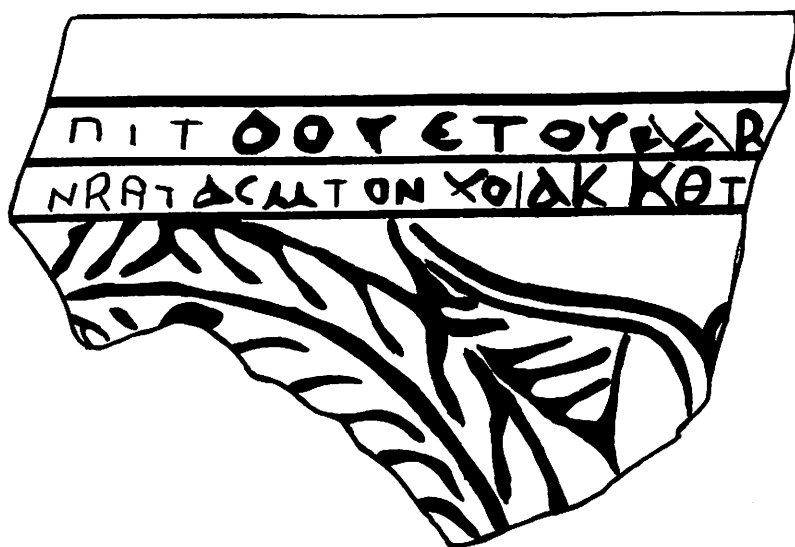
Whoever enters the monastery uninstructed shall be taught first what he must observe; and when, so taught, he consented to it all, they shall give him twenty psalms or two of the Apostle's epistles, or some other part of the Scripture. And if he is illiterate, he shall go at the first, third, and sixth hours to someone who can teach and has been appointed for him. He shall stand before him and learn very studiously with all gratitude. Then the fundamentals of a syllable, the verbs, and nouns shall be written for him, and even if he does not want to, he shall be compelled to read.

There shall be no one whatever in the monastery who does not learn to read and does not memorize something of the Scriptures. [One should learn by heart] at least the New Testament and the Psalter.

No one shall have in his own possession little tweezers for removing thorns he may have stepped on. Only the housemaster and the second shall have them, and they shall hang in the alcove in which the books are placed.

No one shall leave his book unfastened when he goes to the synaxis or to the refectory. Every day at evening, the second shall bring the books from the alcove and shut them in their case.

Official letters of Pachomius in Coptic were translated into Greek and then in 404 C.E. translated by Jerome into Latin. Only the Latin translation has survived, copied down through the centuries for the edification of European monks. The Coptic and Greek letters have not been seen since—until, at the same time, from the same dealer, and (with but one exception) at the same repositories as the Dishna Papers, they suddenly reappeared. The inference seems inescapable that they were part of the same discovery. As a matter of fact, the site of the discovery near the foot of the Jabal Abū Manāʿ was in full view of the headquarters monastery of the Pachomian Order, at the foot of the cliff to which funeral processions moved from the monastery, itself not above the inundation level, to bury their dead on higher ground, according to their records, and apparently to secrete their Library or Archives as well. High up in the Wādīʿ Shaykh ʿAlī (see photograph number 2) there is an overhang cut by a prehistoric torrent that is everywhere inscribed in scrawling red paint with the graffiti of pious monks (see photograph number 3).



*Fragment of a tombstone of a lady buried at "the holy mountain" found in the Dishnā Plain by Ishāq Ayyūb Ishāq, Inspector of the Department of Agriculture for the Dishnā Governate.*

The holdings of the Bibliothèque Bodmer and the Chester Beatty Library that come from the jar at the foot of the cliff, and even before that from the little alcove in the Pachomian monastery where the tweezers were kept, give a direct impression of the primitiveness of some of the books that made up the library.

The eight leaves of ac. 1390 (Inventory item 26) begin with a school-boy's Greek exercises in solid geometry that rendered the rest of the quire of little financial value, the kind of material a Pachomian monastery might be able to afford. On the empty pages a few chapters of the Gospel of John in Coptic were written in a non-literary, cursive hand, beginning in the middle of a sentence. This may be explainable as the place where the mutilated text being copied had begun. Or perhaps ac. 1390 was one in a series of cheap writing materials, the only one to have survived, onto which the complete Gospel was copied. The preceding (lost) writing surface on which the Gospel was being copied would have ended in the middle of a verse, which would explain why the text that has survived begins there, just where the other happened to break off. Thus ac. 1390 may give some insight into the limitations of the monastic effort to build its collection.

A similar impression of primitiveness may be conveyed by the largely uninscribed ac. 1499 (Inventory item 28) containing a Greek grammar and a Graeco-Roman lexicon for deciphering Pauline epistles (see photograph number 12). One of the uninscribed quires of this codex has leaves not yet cut apart at the growing edge, like French paperback books used to be (see photograph number 13). This not only reflects the fact that this codex was never completed, but also documents how unusual its construction had been.<sup>6</sup> For the standard way to make a quire for a papyrus codex was to cut a roll into a stack of sheets and fold the stack down the middle, a procedure that produced no growing edges that needed to be cut apart. The very fact that this codex was not fully inscribed has left this aberration in the manufacturing procedure intact. The codex was apparently produced outside the main tradition of book manufacture, or in any case made use of a technique that did not gain general acceptance.

Another experiment at economy is ac. 2554 (Inventory item 31), a largely uninscribed and unbound folded stack of sheets constructed by pasting face to face two used rolls and cutting them into the sheets of a quire, on whose unbound leaves administrative records had begun to be inscribed, with the result that such a makeshift quire, left still largely uninscribed, would provide writing material that would not have been expensive at all.

It may be no coincidence that much of the material of the highest quality in the collection is older than the Pachomian Order itself, suggesting that it entered the Library as gifts from outside, perhaps contributed by prosperous persons



entering the Order. This might be the most obvious way to explain non-Christian texts in a monastic library, such as the Homeric and Menander material. But some such explanation is also needed for such excellent early Greek New Testament texts as P. Bodmer II (P<sup>66</sup>, the Gospel of John, Inventory item 3), and P. Bodmer XIV-XV (P<sup>75</sup>, the Gospels of Luke and John, Inventory item 8), where one might even think of Athanasius living in hiding with the Order while in exile as the source of such gifts.

The bulk of Christian codices date from the first century of the Pachomian Order's existence, namely the early Fourth to the early Fifth Century, and often present the competence of a trained scriptorium, though without adornment. But there is no specific indication that they came from a single scriptorium or that such a scriptorium belonged to the Order.

Some texts in the collection, such as some of the archival copies of letters from Pachomian Abbots, again suggest, in the primitiveness of the material employed, that the usual standards of a scriptorium were lacking. Ac. 1486, an archival copy of a Coptic letter from the Pachomian Abbot Theodore (item 4 in the Inventory of Pachomian letters), was written in the Fifth or Sixth Century on a long thin irregular skin, obviously the leg of an animal that could not be used to produce leaves for a codex (see photograph number 14). Chester Beatty Ms. W. 145 (item 3 in the Inventory of Pachomian letters) makes a similar impression. It is a Fourth Century copy of a letter of Pachomius (see photograph number 15).

The presence of relatively unskilled products alongside of relatively professional codices may indicate a plurality of places of origin, and perhaps a contrast between what was produced within the Order and what came from outside.

If discipline relaxed and the demand for reading material waned with the passage of time, as the center of Coptic learning shifted downstream to the White Monastery of Shenouda at Sohag, such a Pachomian collection could have become more a *geniza* than an active library. The identity of increasingly fragmentary items in the collection would be lost from sight, especially in the case of the old non-Coptic material, if one may assume that the Greek House did not retain its original vigor at Fāw 'Qibli', once the Order had a monastery near Alexandria where Greek-speaking monks would be more at home. It would have been enough that the remains represented the venerated relics of the beginning of the Order, worthy to be included along with copies of official letters of the early Abbots (about the only thing they continued to copy), in a jar no doubt intended to rescue for posterity the surviving symbols of continuity with the Order's legendary past.

This is illustrated in another way by the fate of the excellent early third-

century copy of the Gospels of Luke and John (p<sup>75</sup>, Inventory item 8) in the Bibliothèque Bodmer (P. Bodmer XIV-XV), from whose cover new and still unpublished fragments of John have recently been recovered. This very valuable old codex was rebound in late antiquity by pasting fragmentary leaves of the quire together as cartonnage to thicken the leather cover and by sewing the binding thongs through the inner margin of the quire so near the writing that the codex could not be opened wide enough to be actually read. One is inclined to think that the codex had become a relic, the Library a Museum, or, in view of the copies of official Pachomian letters, an Archive.

Except for the copies of official Pachomian letters, datings as late as the Fifth Century are not strongly represented. For it is usually mentioned by editors in the spectrum of Fourth or Fifth Century. In the course of the Fifth Century the source of supply seems to have been drying up, or new production was being attracted to the White Monastery. But when one turns to the archival copies of letters of Pachomian Abbots, the situation is the converse. Whereas the earliest material is by the nature of the case no earlier than the Fourth Century, only one text (item 3 in the Inventory of Pachomian Letters) has been dated simply to the Fourth Century,<sup>7</sup> and only one (number 1) to the Fourth or Fifth Century.<sup>8</sup> One (number 5) is dated simply to the Fifth Century,<sup>9</sup> and two (numbers 8 and 9) to the Fifth or Sixth Century.<sup>10</sup> Three (numbers 2, 4, and 7) are dated simply to the Sixth Century,<sup>11</sup> and one (number 6) to the Seventh Century.<sup>12</sup> Thus it is clear that the letters of the Pachomian Abbots continued being copied much later than did the literary texts themselves, and represent the clearest indication of the narrowly limited interest of those responsible for the preservation of the Library or Archive in its latest period and hence for its ultimate burial.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps these relics were buried for safe keeping in the period of decline following the imposition of Chalcedonian orthodoxy on the traditionally Monophysite order, as the dating of the latest material in the Seventh Century might suggest.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. The Discovery and Marketing of the Library

The discovery of the Dishna Papers was made by Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Sammān (see photograph number 6) and Muḥammad Khālil al-Azzūzī, both of whom come from Abū Manāʿ 'Bahrī' (North). This hamlet is on the right bank of the Nile in the area of Upper Egypt where it flows from east to west, and hence literally on the north bank. Abū Manāʿ lies some 4 km from the river's edge, near the foot of the cliff Jabal Abū Manāʿ, which is 12 km east of the cliff Jabal al-Ṭārīf



where the Nag Hammadi Codices were discovered. It is 5 km northeast and in full view of Fāw 'Qiblī' (South), ancient Pabau (Greek), Pbaw or Pbow (Sahidic), or Phbow (Bohairic), the site of the headquarters of the Pachomian Monastic Order (see photograph number 4). Put in more modern terms, the site is 5.5 km northwest of Dishnā, the larger town at the river with a railroad station, which thus played the role of regional center in this discovery corresponding to that of the town Nag Hammadi in the case of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Abū Manā' itself is 10 km east of Ḥamrah Dūm, the hamlet that controls the site of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices, much as does Abū Manā' in the case of the Dishna Papers. This whole Dishnā Plain, important already in prehistoric times, seems to have been an important center of Egyptian Christianity.

Ḥasan and Muḥammad were digging for *sabakh* (fertilizer) some 300 meters out from the foot of the cliff Jabal Abū Manā' at al-Qurnah ('the corner,' see photograph number 1), when Ḥasan uncovered a large earthen jar containing the books. He broke the jar with his mattock, leaving the sherds where they fell. Some fragmentary parts of the find were burnt on the spot, and others were given away to passers-by, who incidentally terrified Ḥasan with the mythic idea that they were books of monsters. Yet he carried the bulk of the discovery home in his *jallabīyah*, the typical peasant ground-length robe. Muḥammad took for his part a wooden plank variously interpreted as a book cover, a mirror, or a catalogue of the library's contents.

Ḥasan lived in his wife's family home, presided over by her father 'Umar al-'Abbādī. Her brother, 'Abd al-'Āl, trafficked in the books, unsuccessfully at first, since they could not even be bartered for sugar. Some leaves of a large papyrus book were crushed up and used as fuel to light their water pipe; parchment burnt like an oil lamp—rural electrification reached the hamlet only in 1980.

'Abd al-'Āl worked in the Dishnā jewelry shop of the goldsmith Ṣubḥī Quṣṭandī Dimyān, to whom he sold a book. Ṣubḥī showed it to the Dishnā priest 'al-Qummuṣ' Manqaryūs (see photograph number 8), who was related to the priestly family of al-Qaṣr through whose hands Nag Hammadi material had passed, to inquire if it were equally valuable. 'Al-Qummuṣ' Manqaryūs told him it was worthless, hoping thus to be able to acquire it himself. But Ṣubḥī's son Jirjis taught at the same Coptic parochial school at Dishnā as did a member of the priestly al-Qaṣr family, Rāghib Andarāwus 'al-Qiss' 'Abd al-Sayyid, who had sold Nag Hammadi Codex III to the Coptic Museum in Cairo for £250. Jirjis showed his father's book at the Coptic Museum, where it was confiscated and he threatened with jail, until a powerful friend persuaded the Museum to return his book and press no charges. Jirjis sold the book to Zakī Ghālī, an antiquities dealer

in Luxor, for a price said to be £400.

‘Abd al-Raḥīm Abū al-Hājj, ‘Umar’s nephew, was a village barber going from house to house to ply his trade, as well as a share-cropper working fields belonging to a Dishnā goldsmith, Riyād Jirjis Fām. Riyād began dirt poor, the son of a peasant who eked out a living making baskets from reeds taken from the edge of the Nile, but scrounged his way up to the role of the ruthless strong-man of Dishnā (see photograph number 7). When he heard of the discovery, he took another goldsmith with him, Mūsā Fikrī Ash‘īyah, and went to the house of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm in Abū Manā‘. The latter was afraid of the accompanying stranger and refused to deal with them, but on a subsequent visit when Mūsā Fikrī was not present sold Riyād three or four books.

‘Al-Qummuṣ’ Manqaryūs became involved with Riyād’s acquisitions, along with Mūsā Fikrī and another goldsmith, Shafīq Ghubrīyāl. They thus created some kind of partnership, the priest providing a semi-educated assessment, ecclesiastical connections, and a haven free of police searches, whereas the goldsmiths no doubt provided the capital and Riyād also the entrepreneurship.

Accompanied by his son Nuṣḥī, Riyād returned to Abū Manā‘ and went directly to the house of ‘Umar al-‘Abbādī, where he bought out the rest of what the family held. He was able to leave the hamlet with the loot thanks only to the armed escort of ‘Umar’s sons as far as the paved highway. He went straight to the home of ‘al-Qummuṣ’ Manqaryūs, where he counted out to him ‘thirty-three books.’ Though this figure recurs repeatedly in the telling of the story, it is not clear whether it is meant to include the books Riyād had already acquired, and whether it included material usually distinguished from the ‘books,’ namely ten small rolls the size of one’s finger, three or four large rolls some 25 cm or more high, and a few triangular-shaped leaves some 15 cm high. In spite of such ambiguities, the figure does tend to indicate roughly the extent of the discovery, perhaps some three times that of the thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices.

Muḥammad, irritated at having been excluded from the sales and profits, had reported the discovery to the police, who had found concrete evidence with Maṣrī ‘Abd al-Maṣḥ Nūḥ, the person who acquired the wooden board from Muḥammad. He implicated the others. Charges were not brought against the priest, but Riyād and Mūsā Fikrī were charged. And, by a case of mistaken identity, Shafīq Muḥārib was charged instead of Shafīq Ghubrīyāl. Also charged were Ḥasan and the brother of ‘Abd al-‘Āl, as well as Abū al-Wafā Aḥmad Ismā‘īl, who had acquired a triangular parchment leaf. By a combination of threats and bribes Riyād prevented them from testifying against him in their effort to exonerate themselves. His defense lawyer, Hilmī Bandarī, argued unsuccessfully before

Judge Rabāʿ Tawfiq that the possession of antiquities was not illegal, that they were ignorant of what they had acquired, and that there was no incriminating evidence. All eight were sentenced to a year in jail. Engaging as their attorney Aḥmad ʿAlī Allūbā ʿPashaʿ, a Conservative Party politician from Cairo, Riyāḍ appealed the case at the Court of Appeals in Qinā. Six were acquitted, but two were sentenced to six months in jail; Maṣrī's sentence was suspended and only Ḥasan served time.

During this trying time 'al-Qummuṣ' Maṣrīyūs was concerned that his house might be searched. For the books were being kept in his home, no doubt on the assumption that a police search of a priest's home was less likely than of a goldsmith's home. The box in which they were kept was hidden at times under the floor, no doubt the dirt floor of the patio, at times behind rafters in the ceiling. But as the pressure mounted, he secreted them in a cupboard built under his divan, and asked his neighbor, Saʿīd Diryās Ḥabashī, if he could sun the divan in his patio, where there was more sun than in his own, to free it of fleas. When he recuperated the divan, he found the best book missing. Saʿīd Diryās denies having taken it, saying he was unaware of the divan's contents, otherwise he would have taken them all. Riyāḍ traced the book to Fāris, a tailor of Dishnā, who is reported to have paid £30 for it and then to have sold it for £700 to Phocion J. Tano, the distinguished Cypriote antiquities dealer of Cairo who had acquired most of the Nag Hammadi Codices (see photograph number 9), where Riyāḍ later saw it.

Riyāḍ retrieved the rest of the material from 'al-Qummuṣ' Maṣrīyūs, apparently except for a few fragments. For Distinguished Professor Emeritus ʿAzīz Suryāl ʿAḥyahʿ of the University of Utah has reported that the priest's son, 'al-Qummuṣ' Ṭānyūs, showed him a fragment at his home in the fashionable Cairo suburb Maadi. And Saʿīd Diryās has reported that a Spanish priest obtained some material about 1966 from the priest's son, 'al-Qummuṣ' Ṭānyūs. The parish diary of the Franciscan Church adjoining the Sugar Factory near Nag Hammadi records that a José O'Callaghan Martinus of Barcelona (and the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome) with passport number 95912 came 'to look for papers' on 14-20 xi 64 and for a second visit beginning 1 ii 65. The widow of 'al-Qummuṣ' Maṣrīyūs thought there were fragments in the home when I interviewed her on 18 xii 76, but she could not find them.

Riyāḍ was under virtual house arrest. For he was not permitted to go as far as Cairo, but was limited in his movements to Upper Egypt, the region from Luxor to Sohag, for trips up to ten hours, and then only with police permission. So he turned to a lifelong friend, Faṭḥallāh Dāʿūd, who had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem with him in 1945 (as their almost identical tattoos validate), to take

books to Cairo to market. Though Faṭḥallāh Dāʿūd was instructed to report to 'al-Qummuṣ' Maṇqaryūs, Mūsā Fikrī and Shafīq Ghubrīyāl a lower price than he actually received, so that their proportion of the profit would be correspondingly less, he actually told them the truth. Having his own profit thus appreciably reduced, Riyāḍ plotted revenge to recuperate his loss. He hired members of the Abū Baḥbūḥ family to break into Faṭḥallāh Dāʿūd's house and kidnap a son to be held for the equivalent ransom. In the dark of night they by mistake took a daughter, Sūsū. Rather than paying the ransom, Faṭḥallāh Dāʿūd appealed by telegram to President Nasser. Within a week police sent from Cairo secured the release of Sūsū unharmed. Riyāḍ himself seeks to put a good (or less bad) light on the incident by maintaining that the Abū Baḥbūḥ family was planning to kill Faṭḥallāh Dāʿūd for their own reasons, but Riyāḍ had talked them out of that unprofitable venture in favor of a slightly less (?) inhumane and in any case more profitable procedure.

Riyāḍ then made friends with the two police guards posted at his home, plying them with alcohol on Saturday evenings until they were in a drunken stupor in time for him to catch the midnight train to Cairo. There he would take a few books at a time to Tano's home, receiving profits he has reported to be in the thousands of pounds, and return Sunday night in time to get into his home under the cover of darkness before dawn Monday. The death of Riyāḍ's son, Waṣfī, in a brawl some years later, which Faṭḥallāh Dāʿūd interpreted as divine retribution, led Riyāḍ to move to Cairo, where he lives on the top, fifth floor of a large modern duplex apartment house in Heliopolis which he has purchased.

Photographs supplied by Émile Tawfīq Saʿd, the son of an Alexandrian antiquities dealer named by Ishāq Ayyūb Ishāq, Inspector of the Department of Agriculture for Dishnā (see photograph number 5), as having acquired some 'Dishna Papers,' were identified as Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (the Psalms in Greek, Inventory item 15) and Papyrus Bodmer XL, the unpublished Coptic Song of Songs (Inventory item 19). This then led to the identification of the 'Dishna Papers' with the famous discovery known in academic circles as the 'Bodmer Papyri.'

This identification of the Dishna Papers with the Bodmer Papyri has then been variously confirmed. The contents as described by the peasants fit quite well the Bodmer Papyri, including such details as the balled-up condition of P. Bodmer XXII = Mississippi Coptic Codex II (Inventory item 13) stuck in the bottom of a piriform jar. The same dealer Tano, who according to Riyāḍ had funded a clandestine excavation of the site, has also been identified as their sources by the main repositories of the materials in Geneva, Dublin and Cologne. The time

frame of the discovery (1952) and that of the arrival of the material in Europe (P.Bodmer I, Inventory items 1-2, was published in 1954, and the bulk was acquired in 1955-56), given the trying circumstances, is what one might expect. And the site of the discovery, initially stated by the publications of the Bodmer Papyri either to be unknown or to be variously and vaguely located somewhere between Panopolis (Achmim near Sohag) and Thebes (Luxor), has finally been conceded to agree with our investigations in the most recent of these publications (see the Postscript below). This identification of the site has subsequently been located also in the Registry of Accessions of the Chester Beatty Library, on a typed slip of paper appended at ac. 1390, apparently written by Tano himself, to judge by the wooden English and unusual spelling:

Small village DESHNA just after NAGHI HAMADI about 2 hours before LUXOR by train. Probably from the Library of a Monastery. Found in a jar in a cemetery.

It was this identification of the remains of this codex as part of the Dishna Papers that lead to the decision to publish it through the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.The Acquisitions by Sir Chester Beatty and MartinBodmer

Sir Chester Beatty (see photograph number 11)<sup>16</sup> and Martin Bodmer (see photograph number 10) were the most distinguished bibliophiles in the period just before and after World War II. It is hence understandable that both felt a sense of competitiveness, as well as a sense of comraderie in the rarified atmosphere of their shared hobby. This relationship was only intensified by the fact that both were long-standing customers of Tano.

Tano kept his collection in part in Cyprus, as he was able to get it out of Egypt. He spent summers in the family home at Nicosia, where he could correspond freely about his business affairs and ship antiquities and receive payment without difficulty. Tano was even from time to time on the continent. Sir Chester had known Tano personally during the winters he had spent in the 'Blue House' at Giza near Cairo, and when Beatty came to prefer Nice for his winters the personal contacts continued there. This relationship outside of Egypt was not only convenient from the point of view of customs and payments, but was also diplomatically advantageous, as is reflected in a comment of Beatty in a letter of 21 March 1958 concerning ac. 2554 (Inventory item 31): 'We can honestly say it was bought in Europe; we need not say where or when.'

Beatty had in fact been acquiring papyri and other antiquities from Tano for many years. The following may illustrate this relationship just prior to the

acquisitions with which we are concerned: On 8 September 1947 he paid Tano £24 for four leaves from a codex, care of the Ottoman Bank, Famagusta, Cyprus. On 16 April 1948 Tano sent him four wooden tablets through the good offices of his brother-in-law, William Acker, an officer in the RAF. In 1950 Beatty ordered on approval Coptic materials offered by Tano for £235. That same year Tano wrote Beatty from New York not to involve his American-based nephew, Frank J. Tano, in any transactions, but to remit directly to the Ottoman or Barclay Banks of Famagusta, Cyprus. On 12 September 1951 Tano wrote Beatty's secretary, John Marsh, in London: 'I asked to [sic] a friend in Paris to forward threw [sic] you for Mr. Chester Beatty a collection of Coptic parchemains [sic]. Please wen [sic] you receive them, kindly forward the parcel to Mr. Chester Beatty's address.'

On 25 March 1954 Beatty's secretary, John Wooderson, recorded in a memorandum:

Mr. A. Chester Beatty asked John Wooderson to see Mr. Tano and find out if he had any Coptic writing on vellum or pages of papyri in Greek; and, if so, what they would cost, and if they could be examined in London .... Mr. Tano said he had no stock in Cairo or Cyprus at present but that he would write later if he found anything interesting.

But by this time Martin Bodmer had established a business relationship with Tano that seemed even more efficient. Bodmer had visited Egypt as early as 1950, when he approached Tano to secure manuscripts for his library. Father L. Doutreleau, S.J., one of the editors of the series *Sources Chrétiennes* in Lyon, was at the time stationed in Cairo, and has described Bodmer's acquisition procedure. For Doutreleau had an arrangement with Bodmer to provide him with an expert assessment of manuscripts Tano showed Doutreleau for this purpose. Sometimes Tano gave him direct contact with a peasant who owned manuscripts, whom Doutreleau knew only as 'the Bey of papyrus,' but who may well have been Riyād. Tano referred to the Dishna Papers as 'Nag Hammadi Two,' to designate the region of Egypt from which they came that would be more readily recognizable to foreigners and that would incidentally suggest a value comparable to that famous discovery. Tano exported to Cyprus material at times through the diplomatic pouch, at times through a friend who worked at the customs office in Alexandria. From Cyprus he went to Geneva in September 1955. It was at that time that P. Bodmer II (the Gospel of John, Inventory item 3) and III (the Gospel of John and Genesis 1:1-4:2, Inventory item 4) reached Geneva.

Bodmer himself was in Cairo at the end of January 1956, returning from a trip to Indonesia as a diplomat for the International Red Cross. On 8 October 1956 Gilles Quispel was told by Ludwig Keimer, an Austrian in Cairo who was close to Doutreleau and Tano, that at the beginning of February 1956 Bodmer had bought from Tano P. Bodmer XIV-XV (the Gospels of Luke and John, Inventory

item 8) and much of XXV-IV-XXVI (Menander, Inventory item 5). These codices reached Geneva shortly thereafter. Bodmer's secretary, Odile Bongard, visited Tano in Cairo in March 1956. A rather steady stream of acquisitions during the subsequent months was interrupted by the Suez crisis in October 1956, though a shipment did arrive that month. Efforts by Mlle. Bongard to complete the acquisitions were only successful to a limited extent. She was able to sift through Tano's residue of fragments and find a few belonging to Bodmer II (the Gospel of John, Inventory item 3). Also Tano showed Doutreleau several leaves of Menander (Inventory item 5) in 1958. They were then deposited at the Tunisian Embassy in Cairo for export, but the shipment was delayed several years by a breaking of diplomatic relations between Egypt and Tunisia. When the shipment finally reached Geneva, part of it was missing.

On 2 April 1956 Beatty wrote his librarian James Vere Stewart Wilkinson from Nice that he had seen Tano and 'got some very interesting things from him.' In a letter of 5 April 1956 to Wilfred Merton, his papyrological consultant in Dublin, Sir Chester was more specific about the 'very interesting things' he had acquired, distinguishing the following items clearly enough for us to identify them, in light of later information:

The two books with the original bindings are very interesting. One seems to be complete [ac. 1389, Inventory item 12] and the other was never finished. About half of the papyrus pages are blank [ac. 1499, Inventory item 28].

A third item was described as follows:

It was evidently a scroll which was cut in pieces to make it appear like a book. It must have been pretty long, because it is quite thick—it must be 2" at least—and the page is just the size of the section of a scroll. They just bend over, and I looked at a good many of the pages and they separate naturally, so I do not anticipate much trouble in having the proper experts separate them.' [Ac. 2554, Inventory item 31.]

Beatty added: 'I will, of course, deliver them at once to the British Museum when I arrive.' On 15 April 1956 Wilkinson replied urging him to invite the leading expert on book bindings, Berthe van Regemorter, to come from Belgium to examine the bindings before the books were disassembled and the leaves glassed, a proposal with which he readily agreed. Mlle Van Regemorter had recently been at the Bibliothèque Bodmer to examine the book bindings there and had sent Beatty a report concerning her findings. The ensuing discussion illustrates the way in which Bodmer and Sir Chester became involved in friendly competition for Tano's wares. In a letter to Merton of 21 May 1956 Beatty commented:

You have seen the memorandum that Miss Van Regemorter did on Bodmer's library. Apparently he got some good things from Tano. It was quite an important purchase,



and I imagine it was the Gospel of John that he bought. I do not think he is making a general collection of papyri, but I think he bought a few very important things from Tano.

In a letter the same day to Wilkinson, Beatty conceded the loss to Bodmer but immediately began thinking of future acquisitions he might make from Tano:

He [Tano] indicated to me that he had an important deal on with Bodmer. I imagine it is in connection with that Gospel. Anyhow, I hope we will get some other things, and I wrote to him about early wooden bindings. I imagine Bodmer is not going in for those, and he [Tano] may be able to clean up the market and get something fine there.

In a letter of 24 April 1956 to Merton, Sir Chester described his business procedure with Tano:

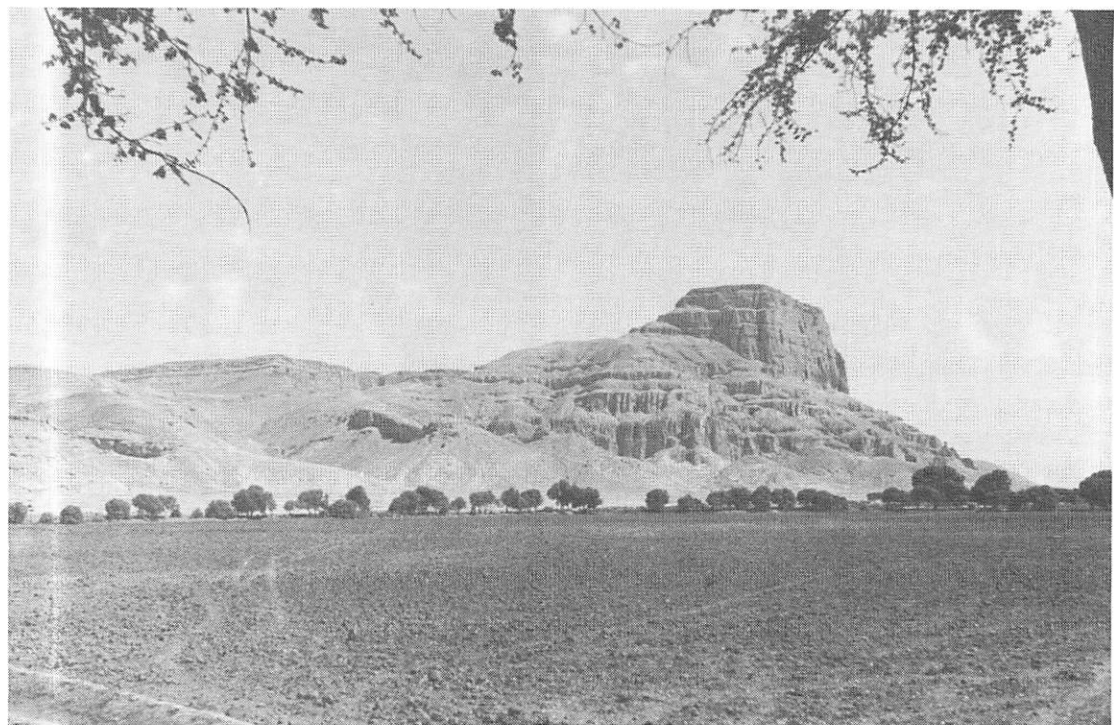
You see, with the deal I had with 'X' [Tano], I pay so much for the whole lot, and if I do not want to buy the whole lot I pay another sum. I pay £800 if I take them all, but if I do not take the whole lot I pay £200, but I can pay this in sterling. In other words, the price was 10,000 Swiss francs. Of course, it is a good deal liking buying a pig in a poke, because he does not know too much about them and I know nothing. They look old and they smell old, and I imagine they are old. That is the opinion of a real expert.

All this tends to suggest that Beatty acquired the residue of what had been offered to Bodmer in Swiss francs, items that presumably were not considered 'world literature,' as Bodmer defined the scope of his collection<sup>17</sup>, but rather were the kind of artifacts, such as book bindings, that interested Sir Chester. The paradoxical outcome of this selectivity procedure is that Bodmer tended to acquire items that entered the Pachomian Monastery Library from outside, such as Homer, Menander, and the Greek Gospels, whereas Sir Chester tended to acquire the material more directly related to the Pachomian Monastic Order, such as the more primitively produced items and the bulk of copies of the official letters of Pachomian Abbots, precisely what was needed to identify the discovery as the Archives of the Pachomian Monastic Order.

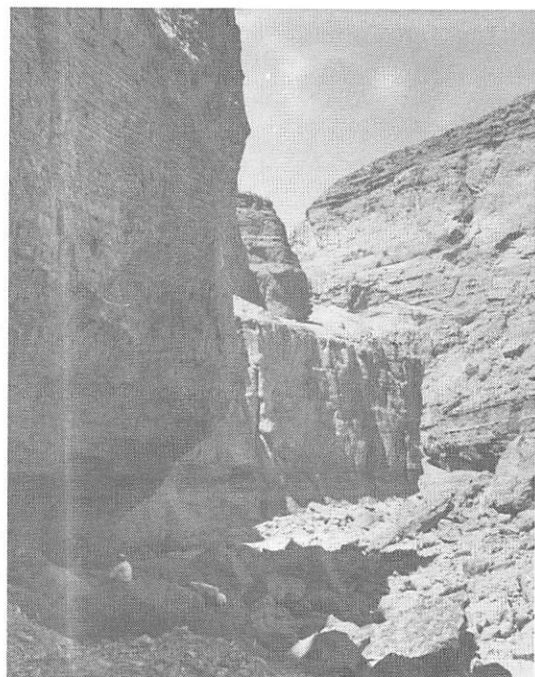
Sir Chester lacked the expertise provided to Bodmer in Cairo by Father Doutreleau, but was dependent on expertise he received once he had taken an option to buy and had directed the material to the British Museum. In a letter of 21 May 1956 to Merton, Sir Chester wrote how he planned to reach a decision as to whether to exercise his option:

My idea is, soon after I arrive, to take the big papyrus which is cut apart [ac. 2554, Inventory item 31] and in that parcel there are two lots of loose leaves -- one is supposed to be agnostic [?] -- and have them identified at the British Museum. I will not do anything beyond identification, because I do not want to be forced to take the lot, in case the other two are of no value.

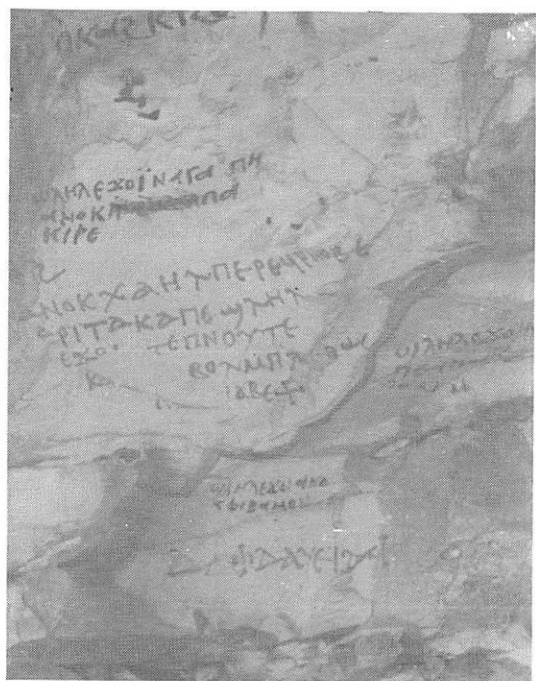
... If she [Mlle Van Regemorter] can come over we will take the other two books [ac. 1389, Inventory item 12, and ac. 1499, Inventory item 28] to [I.E.S.] Edwards and [T.C.] Skeat at the British Museum [so] she can study the bindings. In the meantime,



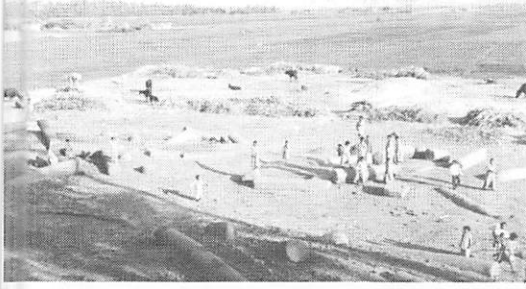
1. The cliff Abū Manāʿ, 5 km northeast of the headquarters monastery of the Pachomian Order at Fāw 'Qiblī. The Dishna Papers were found in the Dishnā Plain some 300 meters out from the foot of this cliff.



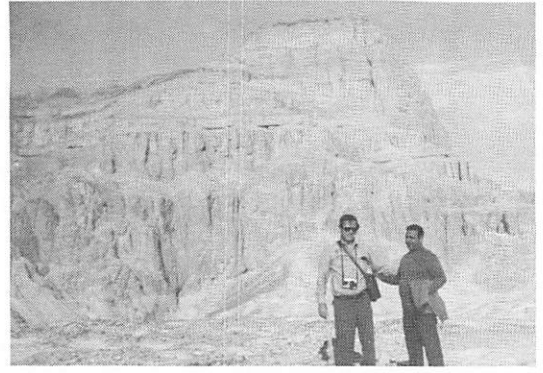
2. Wādī Shaykh 'Alī, interrupting the cliff between the sites of the Nag Hammadi Codices and the Dishna Papers. Underneath the overhang at the left are many inscriptions left by monks.



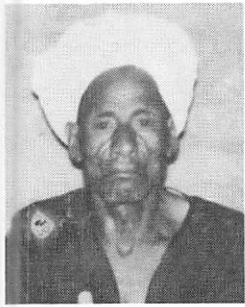
3. Pious inscriptions of monks at the Wādī Shaykh 'Alī. Scrawled in red paint, the inscriptions identify this location as some kind of retreat center or burial area of early Christian Monasticism.



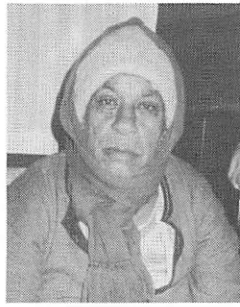
4. Ruins of the Basilica of St. Pachomius in the headquarters monastery of the Pachomian Order at Fāw 'Qiblt'. The site has been excavated by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute.



5. Iṣḥāq Ayyūb Iṣḥāq, Inspector for Agriculture of the Dishnā Governate, who divulged the name of an Alexandrian antiquities dealer that made the identification with the Bodmer Papyri possible, near the site of the discovery with James Robinson.



6. Ḥāsan Muḥammad al-Sammān, discoverer of the Dishna Papers.



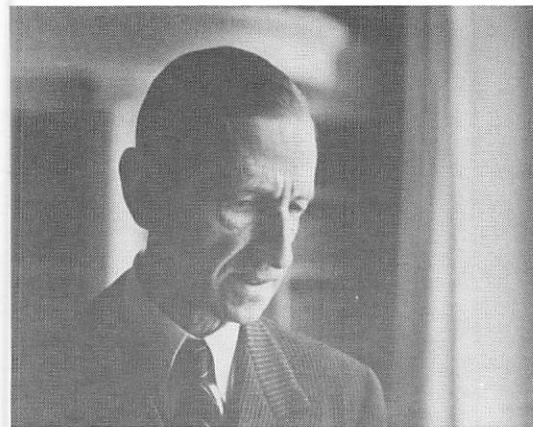
7. Riyāḍ Jirgis Fām, Dishnā goldsmith and ruthless strongman, who evaded police surveillance to market most of the Dishna Papers in Cairo.



8. The Dishnā Priest "al Qummuṣ" Manqaryūs who hid the Papers in his home to avoid their detection by the police.



9. Phocion J. Tano, Cypriote antiquities dealer made famous by the Nag Hammadi Codices, who purchased and resold most of the Dishna Papers.



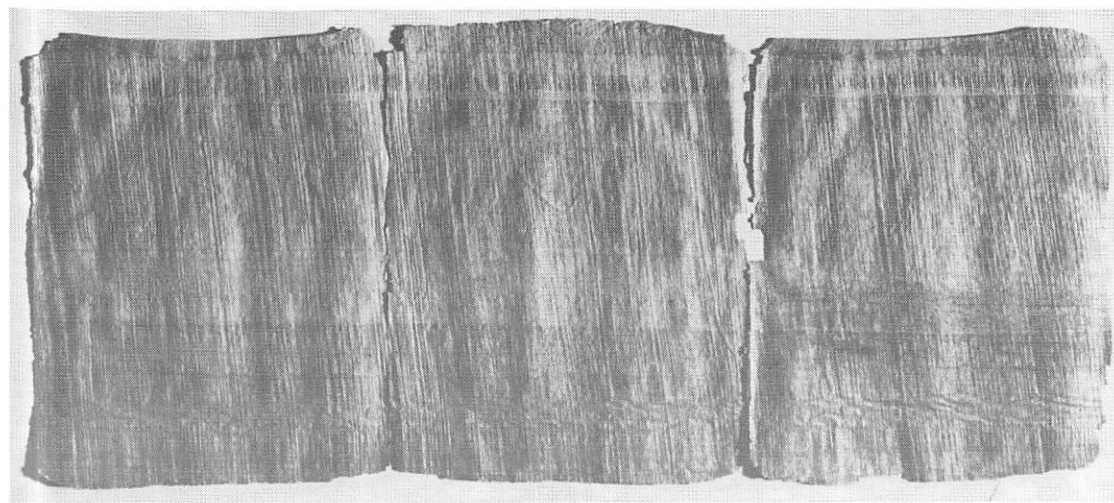
10. Martin Bodmer, administrator of the International Red Cross, scion of a distinguished Swiss family of literati, who amassed a library of world literature, including the major share of the Dishna Papers.



11. Sir A. Chester Beatty, American mining engineer whose fortune was invested in rare books, longtime friend of Tano, who acquired a large part of the Dishna Papers.



12. Chester Beatty ac. 1499, here pages of the Greek grammar conjugating  $\beta\omicron\eta\delta\epsilon\omega$  and  $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\omega$  (= item 28 in the Inventory of the Dishna Papers, 4th Century).

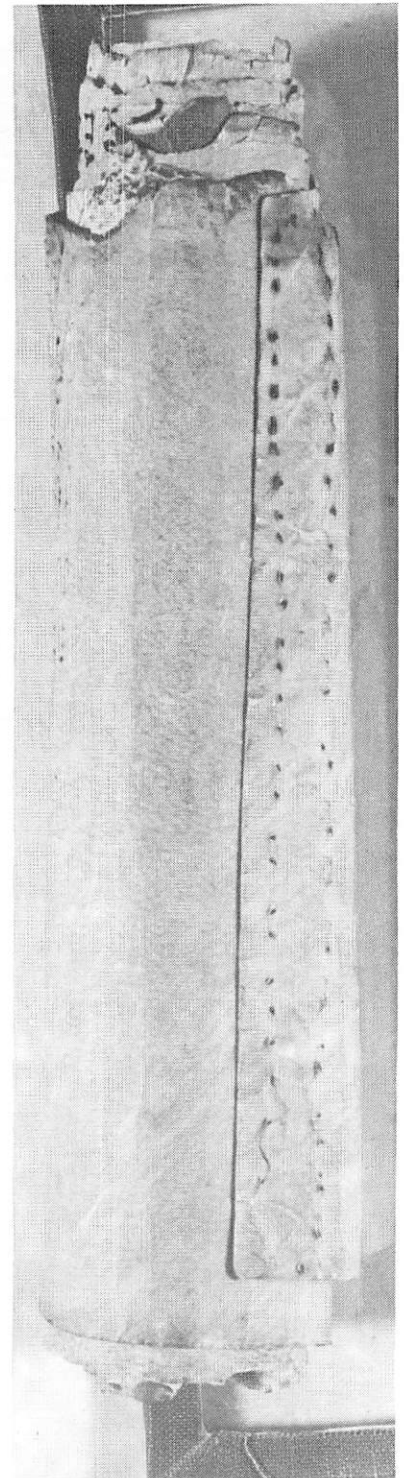


13. Chester Beatty ac. 1499, here three unscrubbed leaves of a quire folded accordion-like, not yet cut apart at the growing edge as well as being joined at the spine. This is an aberration from the usual way of producing a quire.





14. Abbot Theodore's Letter 2 in Sahidic, a sixth century small parchment roll made from the skin of an animal's leg (= Chester Beatty Library ac. 1486 = item 4 in the Inventory of Pachomian Letters).



15. Saint Pachomius' Letters in Greek, a small parchment roll = item 3 in the Inventory of Pachomian Letters. This crude roll dates to the fourth century, almost contemporary with Pachomius himself.

we will have the option [for: opinion?] about the first lot.

On 7 January 1957 Beatty wrote from Nice to Merton of a second potential acquisition:

I received a letter from Bodmer's secretary [Mlle Bongard] who had just come from Cairo, as he had sent her to go through all the fragments that Tano had in the hope of finding a few little fragments which had been overlooked of the St. John's Gospel, and she managed to find a few fragments. She told me that she had certain things which Tano wanted me to have, and she told me the price was 4,000 Swiss francs, and I asked her if she would leave them with me, as I wanted to get a little information on them, and I would probably take them. There are 8 items, of which 6 are papyrus, and one, curiously enough, a perfect mass of small fragments. In fact, they will fill a small plastic box of about 4" long by 3-1/2" wide by 2" deep. Then there is a roll on vellum of some sermon which is quite early [ac. 1486, item 4 in the Inventory of Pachomian letters] .... So when Lady Powerscourt went back, I sent samples of the find, with the exception of one item, to Edwards.

On 16 December 1956 Sir Chester had written to Edwards a letter following up his shipment of samples:

I should be very pleased if you would get the proper advice and find out if they are of any value. I do not know what to make of these fragments. One lot they say is from the same roll as the Greek papyrus we have of the time of Diocletian [ac. 2554, Inventory item 31], and there are two big lots of fragments which are still here and I will get to you later.

On 21 January 1957 Edwards wrote Wilkinson that 'the latest Coptic documents ... seem to me to be too fragmentary to be very promising.'

There was a third acquisition in 1958, again mediated through Mlle Bongard of the Bibliothèque Bodmer. On 18 December 1957 Tano wrote to Beatty in Nice:

I wrote to Miss Odile Bongard to forward you some papyrus which completes some you bought before. Also if she received a lot of parchments in Coptic. In case she did, please their price send it if possible in Cyprus pounds.

On 19 April 1958 Bodmer wrote Sir Chester: 'The package from Tano is also ready to be delivered to you!' The package seems to be an item distinct from the papyrus completing previous acquisitions, and presumably contained the 'lot of parchments in Coptic.'

Miss McGillighan of the staff of Sir Chester's library had written him on 10 April 1958:

I will be very pleased to go to Geneva and collect the papyrus from Mademoiselle Bongard, as you suggest. I had planned to leave Paris for Dublin on May the 18th and so it would be on May the 19th that I would go to the Bodmer library and collect the papyrus.

On 23 May 1958 Miss McGillighan wrote Beatty:

I collected the package which contains some fragmentary leather bindings and 17 vellum folios with some fragments, one with a miniature, several with spiral ornamen-

tation and several with coloured initials. They are in fairly good condition and Dr. Hayes thinks that the writing may be Greek, but I would opt for Coptic.

The papyrus that complemented previous acquisitions may well belong to the Dishna Papers, in that, for example, further fragments were added to ac. 1390 (Inventory item 26) even after it had been conserved between glass panes at the British Museum and sent on to Dublin, necessitating a return of the material from Dublin to London for a reconsevation. But the vellum folios can be identified no doubt as ac. 1933, manuscript 820, an item apparently no longer belonging to the Dishna Papers.

If thus the competition and assistance in acquiring the Dishna Papers by Beatty and Bodmer seems to have reached its conclusion in 1958, the personal relations between the two friends continued until near Beatty's death. Indeed on 17 October 1963 Bodmer wrote him a bold letter proposing they unite the two collections under a single foundation, while leaving them at the two separate repositories. Sir Chester responded on 20 November 1963 politely declining the offer.<sup>18</sup> In a previous letter of 29 October 1963 to Dr. Hayes concerning Bodmer's proposal Beatty had commented:

I do think we might work in very close co-operation with him, and it might be well for you to go down and see the Bodmer Library sometime. We could possibly loan them items and they might loan us items, as we supplement each other extremely well ....

A striking instance of such a supplementing of each other's holdings is the Pachomian Monastery Library Archives, which were brought together in a small cupboard shared with tweezers for thorns at Fāw 'Qiblī' at the headquarters monastery in Upper Egypt, then some three centuries later were buried at the foot of the Jabal Abū Manā' for safekeeping for over a millennium, then late in 1952 were discovered by Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Sammān of Abū Manā' 'Baḥrī, were acquired by the strong man of Dishnā Riyāḍ Jirjis Fām and then sold by him bit by bit to Phocion J. Tano, who sold the bulk of the material in the years around 1956 to Martin Bodmer and Sir Chester Beatty. A joint exhibit of the Archives of the Pachomian Monastic Library would be a fascinating instance of such close co-operation as Beatty had in mind.



## Endnotes

\* This paper is a revised version of an address presented at the Chester Beatty Library as part of a conference held by the Royal Irish Academy on "The Role of the Book in the Civilisations of the Near East" 29 June - 1 July 1988. It is being published in the series edited by Jan Just Witkam at the Ter Lugt Press in Leiden, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990).

<sup>1</sup> One of these codices, originally acquired by the University of Mississippi and named Mississippi Coptic Codex I (The Crosby Codex) has recently been acquired by Martin Schøyen, distinguished Norwegian bibliophile, and is being published through the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity: *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex*, edited by Hans-Gebhard Bethge, James Goehring, Charles W. Hedrick, Edmund Meltzer, James M. Robinson and William H. Willis. Volume Editor James Goehring. Leuven: CSCO, forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> *Pachomian Koinonia 1: The Life of Saint Pachomius, 2: Pachomian Chronicles and Rules*, tr. Armand Veilleux (Cistercian Studies 45 and 46; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980 and 1981, 1.341).

<sup>3</sup> *Pachomian Koinonia*, 1.338-339.

<sup>4</sup> *Pachomian Koinonia*, 2.414-415.

<sup>5</sup> *Pachomian Koinonia*, 2.166.260-262.

<sup>6</sup> James M. Robinson and Alfons Wouters, "Chester Beatty Accession Number 1499: A Preliminary Codicological Analysis," *Miscel·lània Papiròlogica Ramon Roca-Puig en el seu vuitantè aniversari*, edited by Sebastià Janeras (Barcelona: Fundacio Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987), pp. 297-306. See also Alfons Wouters, *The Chester Beatty Codex Ac 1499: A Graeco-Latin Lexicon on the Pauline Epistles and a Greek Grammar*. (Chester Beatty Monographs No. 12; Leuven and Paris: Peeters, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Hans Quecke, 'Die Briefe Pachoms,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supp. 2 1974 (= 18. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1972), p. 98, n. 13, advocates the Fourth Century, and reports that the same date was already proposed by T. C. Skeat in a letter of 17 xii 70. Quecke's *editio princeps* is *Die Briefe Pachoms: Griechischer Text der Handschrift W. 145 der Chester Beatty Library, eingeleitet und herausgegeben* (Textus Patristici et Liturgici 11; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1975).

<sup>8</sup> Tito Orlandi, A. de Vogüé, Hans Quecke, and James Goehring, *Pachomiana Coptica*, in the press. The dating is from an early draft of the typescript by de Vogüé.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Krause, 'Der Erlassbrief Theodors,' *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, ed. Dwight W. Young (Beacon Hill, East Gloucester, MA: Pirtle and Polson, 1981), pp. 220-38 and Plate 6, especially p. 221: 'with every reservation, the Fifth Century.'

<sup>10</sup> Number 8: Dieter Kurth, Heinz-Josef Thissen and Manfred Weber, *Kölner Ägyptische Papyri* (P. Köln ägypt.) 1 (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia 9; Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980), pp. 100-02. Hans Quecke, 'Die Briefe Pachoms,' p. 97, cites with apparent approval the dating 'Fifth or Sixth Century' by Alfred Hermann in his very inadequate *editio princeps* (that Queck in other regards corrected), 'Homilie in sahidischem Dialekt,' *Demotische und Koptische Texte* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 2; Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalens; Cologne and Opladen, 1968), pp. 82-85 and Plate 3, especially p. 82.

Number 9: Kurth, Thissen and Weber, *Kölner Ägyptische Papyri* (P. Köln ägypt.) 1, pp. 103-

08. Hans Quecke, 'Die Briefe Pachoms,' p. 97, cites with apparent approval the dating 'Fifth or Sixth Century' as that of Angelicus Kropp, O.P. in his very inadequate *editio princeps* (that Quecke also corrected in other regards). 'Ein Märchen als Schreibübung, *Demotische und Koptische Texte* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 2; Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalens; Cologne and Opladen, 1968), pp. 69-81 and Plates 1-2, especially p. 81, where Kropp wrote 'end of the Fifth Century.'

<sup>11</sup> Number 2: Hans Quecke, 'Ein neues Fragment der Pachombriefe in koptischer Sprache,' *Orientalia* 43 (1974) 66-72, especially p. 67, 'probably from the Sixth Century.'

Number 4: Hans Quecke, 'Ein Brief von einem Nachfolger Pachoms (Chester Beatty Library Ms. Ac. 1486),' *Orientalia* 44 (1975) 426-33 and Plate 42, especially p. 427, 'probably of the Sixth Century.'

Number 7: Tito Orlandi, 'Nuovi Testi Copti Pacomiani,' *Commandements du Seigneur et Libération évangélique* (Studia Anselmiana 70; Rome: Editrice Anselmiana, 1977), pp. 241-43, esp. p. 242, where he referred to Guglielmo Cavallo for a dating 'a bit older than that of the preceding roll' (see the following note). Hans Quecke, 'Eine handvoll pachomianischer Texte,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supp. 3,1 1977 (= 19. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975), pp. 221-29, especially p. 222, lists the Sixth Century.

<sup>12</sup> Orlandi, 'Nuovi Testi Copti Pacomiani,' p. 241, cited Guglielmo Cavallo for a dating to the Seventh Century. Quecke, 'Eine Handvoll pachomianischer Texte,' p. 222: 'The hand is a very artificial uncial, which one would like to place considerably later' [than a Sixth Century dating, see the preceding note].

<sup>13</sup> Already Hans Quecke has recognized the non-accidental nature of the five Pachomian texts acquired by the Chester Beatty Library, 'Eine Handvoll pachomianischer Texte,' p. 221: 'It is to be suspected that the five pieces belong together, and thus, as it were, present a 'hoard' of Pachomian material. The five Pachomian pieces can indeed hardly have come together accidentally in the Chester Beatty Library.' And Tito Orlandi, 'Nuovi Testi Copti Pacomiani,' p. 241, considers the material to come from 'the library of a Pachomian monastery.'

<sup>14</sup> For a legend about such upheavals, see K. H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on Apollo Archimandrite of the Monastery of Isaac by Stephen Bishop of Heracleopolis Magna* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Orientalium 394-95; Scriptorum Coptici 39-40; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1978).

<sup>15</sup> *The Chester Beatty Codex Ac. 1390: Mathematical School Exercises in Greek and John 10:7-13:38 in Subachmimic*, edited by William Brashear, Wolf-Peter Funk, James M. Robinson, and Richard Smith (Chester Beatty Monographs No. 13; Leuven and Paris: Peeters, forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup> A. J. Wilson, *The Life and Times of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty* (London: Cadogan Publications Ltd., 1985), presents an informed biography, including however all too few brief discussions of the bibliophile dimensions of Beatty's activity. Brian P. Kennedy, *Alfred Chester Beatty and Ireland 1950-1968: A Study in Cultural Politics* (Dublin: Glendale, 1988), reports considerably more about the founding of the Chester Beatty Library. See especially pp. 49, 125-27 concerning the relation with Martin Bodmer.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Bodmer, *Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1947).

<sup>18</sup> Excerpts of the exchange of letters are quoted by Kennedy, *Alfred Chester Beatty and Ireland*, 1950-1968, pp. 126-27.

## 4. Inventory

The contents of the discovery, including the quite fragmentary items and those listed only with hesitation, are as follows (they are Greek papyrus codices, unless otherwise indicated):

1. Homer, *Iliad*, Book 5 = P. Bodmer I, a roll on the verso of a roll of documentary papyri, = P. Bodmer L.
2. Homer, *Iliad*, Book 6 = P. Bodmer I, a roll on the verso of the same roll of documentary papyri, = P. Bodmer L.
3. Gospel of John = P. Bodmer II + a fragment from the Chester Beatty Library, ac. 2555, + P. Köln 214 = p<sup>66</sup>.
4. Gospel of John and Genesis 1:1-4:2 in Bohairic = P. Bodmer III.
5. Menander, *Samia*, *Dyskolos*, *Aspis* = P. Bodmer XXV, IV, XXVI + P. Barc. 45 + Cologne inv. 904 = P. Köln 3 + P. Rob. 38.
6. *Nativity of Mary* = *Apocalypse of James* (*Protevangelium of James*); Apocryphal Correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians; *Odes of Solomon* 11; the Epistle of Jude; Melito of Sardis *On the Passover*; a fragment of a liturgical hymn; the *Apology of Phileas*; Psalms 33-34; 1 and 2 Peter, = P. Bodmer V; X; XI; VII; XIII; XII; XX (+ a fragment from the Chester Beatty Library, ac. 2555); IX; VIII.
7. Proverbs in Proto-Sahidic on parchment = P. Bodmer VI.
8. Gospels of Luke and John = P. Bodmer XIV -- XV = p<sup>75</sup>.
9. Exodus 1:1-15:21 in Sahidic on parchment = P. Bodmer XVI. (P. Bodmer XVII is generally agreed not to come from the same discovery.)
10. Deuteronomy 1:1-10:7 in Sahidic = P. Bodmer XVIII.
11. Matthew 14:28-28:20 + Romans 1:1-2:3, both in Sahidic on parchment, = P. Bodmer XIX.
12. Joshua in Sahidic = P. Bodmer XXI + Chester Beatty ac. 1389.
13. Jeremiah 40:3-52:34; Lamentations; Epistle of Jeremy; Baruch 1:1-5:5, all in Sahidic on parchment, = P. Bodmer XXII + Mississippi Coptic Codex II.
14. Isaiah 47:1-66:24 in Sahidic = P. Bodmer XXIII.
15. Psalms 17-118 = P. Bodmer XXIV.
16. Thucydides; Suzanna; Daniel; Moral Exhortations = P. Bodmer XXVII, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.
17. A satyr play on the confrontation of Heracles and Atlas, a papyrus roll, = P. Bodmer XXVIII.
18. Codex Visionum = P. Bodmer XXIX-XXXVIII. (For P. Bodmer XXXIX see the inventory of specifically Pachomian material below.)
19. Song of Songs in Sahidic on parchment = P. Bodmer XL.
20. *The Acts of Paul*, Ephesus Episode, in Subachmimic, = P. Bodmer XLI.
21. 2 Corinthians in Coptic (dialect and material unknown) = P. Bodmer XLII.
22. An Apocryphon in Coptic (identity, dialect and material unknown) = P. Bodmer XLIII.
23. Daniel in Bohairic = P. Bodmer XLIV.
24. Fragments of the *Iliad* from a papyrus roll = P. Bodmer XLVIII.
25. Fragments of the *Odyssey* from a papyrus roll = P. Bodmer XLIX.
26. Mathematical exercises in Greek; John 10:7-13:38 in Subachmimic = Chester Beatty ac. 1390.

27. *The Apocalypse of Elijah* in Sahidic = Chester Beatty ac. 1493 = P. Chester Beatty 2018.
  28. A Greek grammar; a Graeco-Latin lexicon on Romans, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians = Chester Beatty ac. 1499.
  29. Psalms 72:6-23, 25-76:1; 77:1-18, 20-81:7; 82:2-84:14; 85:2-88:20, = Chester Beatty ac. 1501 = P. Chester Beatty XIII = Rahlfs 2149.
  30. Psalms 31:8-11; 26:1-6, 8-14; 2:1-8 = Chester Beatty ac. 1501 = P. Chester Beatty XIV = Rahlfs 2150.
  31. Tax receipts of 339-47 A.D. from Panopolis (Achmim) in a largely uninscribed and unbound quire constructed from two papyrus rolls with correspondence of the Strategus of the Panopolitan nome of 298-300 A.D. = P. Beatty Panopolitanus = Chester Beatty ac. 2554.
  32. Melito of Sardis *On the Passover*; 2 Maccabees 5:27 -- 7:41; 1 Peter; Jonah; a homily or hymn = The Crosby-Schøyen Codex = ms. 193 of The Schøyen Collection of Western Manuscripts.
  33. Scholia to the *Odyssey* 1 from a papyrus roll = P. Rob. inv. 32 = P. Colon. inv. 906.
  34. Achilles Tatios from a papyrus roll = P. Rob. inv. 35 + P. Colon. inv. 901.
  35. *Odyssey* 3-4 from a papyrus roll = P. Rob. inv. 43 + P. Colon. inv. 902.
  36. A piece of ethnography or a philosophical treatise from a papyrus roll = P. Rob. inv. 37 + P. Colon. inv. 903.
  37. Cicero, in *Catilinam*; Psalmus Responsorius; Greek liturgical text; *Alcestis*, all in Latin except the Greek liturgical text, = Codex Miscellani, = P. Barcinonenses inv. 149-61 + P. Duke inv. L 1 [ex P. Rob. inv. 201].
  38. Gospels of Luke; John; Mark, all in Sahidic, = P. Palau Ribes 181-183.
- The total quantity of material would involve what remains of some 38 books. They consist of 9 Greek classical papyrus rolls (numbers 1, 2, 17, 24, 25, 33-36) and 29 codices (numbers 3-16, 18-23, 26-32, 37, 38). The codices may be subdivided as follows: 22 are on papyrus (numbers 3-6, 8, 10, 12, 14-16, 18, 20, 23, 26-32, 37, 38), 5 on parchment (numbers 7, 9, 11, 13, 19), and of 2 the Bibliothèque Bodmer has not divulged the material (numbers 21, 22). 10 are in Greek (numbers 3, 5, 6, 8, 15, 16, 18, 29-31), 2 in Greek and Latin (numbers 28, 37), and 1 in Greek and Subachmimic (number 26). 16 are in Coptic (numbers 4, 7, 9-14, 19-23, 27, 32, 38), of which 10 are in Sahidic (numbers 9-14, 19, 27, 32, 38), 2 in Bohairic (numbers 4, 23), 1 in Proto-Sahidic (number 7), 1 in Subachmimic (number 20), and of 2 the Bibliothèque Bodmer has not divulged the dialect (numbers 21, 22). 2 are non-Christian (numbers 5, 31), 23 Christian (numbers 3, 4, 6-15, 18-23, 27, 29-30, 32, 38), and 4 partly each (numbers 16, 26, 28, 37). 12 contain something from the Old Testament (numbers 7, 9, 10, 12-16, 19, 23, 29, 30) and 6 something from the New Testament (numbers 3, 8, 11, 21, 26, 38) and 3 something from each (numbers 4, 6, 32).
- A distinctive part of this discovery consists of archival copies of official letters of Abbots of the Pachomian Monastic Order:
1. Pachomius' Letter 11b in Sahidic, a small parchment roll, = P. Bodmer XXXIX.
  2. Pachomius' Letters 9a, 9b, 10, 11b, from a papyrus codex, in Sahidic, = Chester Beatty Glass Container No. 54 = ac. 2556.
  3. Pachomius' Letters 1-3, 7, 10, 11a in Greek, a small parchment roll in *rotuli* format, = Chester Beatty Ms. W. 145 + Cologne inv. 3288 = P. Köln 174 = three fragments from Letter 7.
  4. Theodore's Letter 2 in Sahidic, a small parchment roll in *rotuli* format, = Chester Beatty Library ac. 1486.
  5. A second copy of Theodore's Letter 2, a small parchment roll in *rotuli* format in an unidentified private German collection published by Martin Krause.

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6. Horsiesios' Letter 3 in Sahidic, a small papyrus roll, = Chester Beatty Library ac. 1494.
  7. Horsiesios' Letter 4 in Sahidic, a small papyrus roll, = Chester Beatty Library ac. 1495.
  8. Pachomius' Letter 8 in Sahidic, a small parchment roll, = Cologne inv. 3286 = P. Colon. Copt. 2 = P. Köln ägypt. 8.
  9. Pachomius' Letters 10-11a in Sahidic, a small parchment roll, = Cologne inv. 3287 = P. Colon. Copt. 1 = P. Köln ägypt. 9.

## Postscript

It has taken more than a generation to establish the provenience of the Bodmer Papyri, the approximate extent of their contents beyond the holdings of the Bibliothèque Bodmer, and the details of their discovery and marketing. The course of this development can be traced as follows:

Victor Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I, Iliade, chants 5 et 6*, (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 3; Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1954), p. 21, listed Panopolis (Achimim) as the provenience on the basis of the land register on the recto of the rolls. Yet Martin recognized that once the land registry was no longer in use, the rolls could have been moved anywhere, in which connection he referred to Eric C. Turner, 'Roman Oxyrhynchus,' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 38 (1952) 78-93, where material from other nomes is reported to have been found at Oxyrhynchus. See also Turner, 'Recto and Verso,' *JEA* 40 (1954) 102-06. On 25 December 1958 Martin wrote to William H. Willis: 'That they were found in Achmim, though probable, is by no means certain.' Willis, 'The New Collections of Papyri at the University of Mississippi,' *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities, 1961), p. 383, n. 1, who quotes Martin, took the comment to apply to Bodmer Papyri in general.

But one may contrast Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer III, Evangile de Jean et Genèse I-IV, 2 en bohairique* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 177-178, Scriptores Coptici 25-26; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1958), 177.iii: '... without the exact provenience having been revealed thus far. One said that all the pieces had been found together in Upper Egypt, and that it had to do with a private library. We do not know anything more.' Similarly Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer IV, Ménandre: Le Dyscolos* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1958 [1959]), p. 7, listed the place of discovery as 'unknown.'

But Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVI, Exode I-XV, 21 en sahidique* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1961), p. 7, next reported that 'we can admit, as a possibility if not probability, that these texts were copied between Achmim and Thebes, and, by preference, in the neighbourhood of the latter site.'

The importance of Thebes is due to the Proto-Sahidic dialect Kasser identified in *Papyrus Bodmer VI, Livre des Proverbes* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 194-95, Scriptores Coptici 27-28; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1960), an association made explicit by Michel Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX, VII: L'Épître de Jude; VIII: Les deux Épîtres de Pierre; IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 34* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1959), p. 32, who hence supported Thebes as the place of origin of P. Bodmer VII-IX.

Then Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIII, Esaie XLVII, 1-LXVI, 24 en sahidique* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1965), p. 7, n. 1, stated: 'Various indications, internal or external, would tend to orient our research a bit to the north of Thebes.' But the internal evidence, the dialects, is so variegated (Sahidic, Bohairic, Paleo-Sahidic, Subachmimic) as to make them a conflicting and hence unreliable indication of the site of the discovery. Kasser's earlier remark in *Papyrus Bodmer XXI, Josué VI, 16-25, VII, 6-XI, 23, XXII, 1-2, 19-XXIII, 7, 15-XXIV, 23 en sahidique* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1963), p. 7, n. 1, might have seemed preferable: 'Of course an admission of uncertainty is worth more than the affirmation of a 'certainty' based on false information.'

The source of the new information was not identified by Kasser, but by Olivier Reverdin in his Preface, 'Les Genevois et Ménandre' to *Ménandre, La Samienne*, translated into French and adapted from the Greek by André Hurst, as presented on the French-language Swiss radio on 15 March 1975, published as a pamphlet in 1975, p. 1: 'For a long time one had only quite vague

indications about their provenience. Shortly before his death, however, the antiquities dealer who had sold them lifted the secret. He revealed that these papyri came from a village near Nag Hammadi .... It is to Mr. Rodolphe Kasser, Professor of Coptic Language and Literature at the Faculty of Letters of Geneva, and editor of a large part of these papyri in the series *Papyrus Bodmer*, that he made his confession.'

But then, with the resumption of publication of the monograph series, Kasser and Guglielmo Cavallo, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX, Vision de Dorotheos* (Cologne-Geneva: Foundation Martin Bodmer, 1984), p. 100, n. 2, reported: 'Various converging indications (among them the dialects of the Coptic texts) make very plausible the localization of this discovery in Upper Egypt, a bit to the east of Nag Hammadi.'

In this context Kasser referred explicitly to my having announced in the *Bulletin of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity*, 7.1 (March 1980), pp. 6-7, the discovery of the identity of the Bodmer Papyri with the Dishna Papers. On receipt of that *Bulletin*, he had requested further information, and on 23 June 1980 I obliged by mailing him a current draft of the relevant section of a book I had begun on the topic. Thus before announcing his final decision as to the provenience of the Bodmer Papyri (which agrees with the outcome of my investigations), he had access to my unpublished manuscript reporting basically the same facts as found in the present essay, though no public acknowledgement is made of this fact.

Instead, in a recent article, "Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosiddetti Papiri Bodmer," *Aegyptus: Revista italiana di egittologia e papirologia* 68:1-2 (1988), 191-194, especially 192 and n. 9, Kasser has maintained that my investigations were based on no more than village "rumor" rendered irrelevant by the passing of 25 years. Though this criticism is to be dismissed as simply not accurate, it does serve to indicate that it would be relevant to publish the sources of the information presented in Section 2 on the Discovery and Marketing of the Library.

My own investigation began as part of my efforts to track down the discoverers and middlemen of the Nag Hammadi codices. Jean Doresse had referred to a priest he thought had seen the Nag Hammadi codices, 'Abūnā' Dā'ūd, whom I found after church on 20 November 1974 at the Deir al-Malak where he had officiated, near al-Qaṣr not far from Nag Hammadi. Another priest there, to whom he introduced me, mentioned that the discovered codices had been for a time in the possession of a Dishnā priest named Manqaryūs and his son Tānyūs. I added this secondarily to my essay "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices," *Les Textes de Nag Hammadi: Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions* (Strasbourg, 23-25 octobre 1974), ed. by Jacques-É. Ménard (Nag Hammadi Studies VII; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), p. 16, on the assumption that it had to do with the Nag Hammadi codices.

It was in the process of following up this lead that I interviewed the Inspector for Agriculture of the Dishnā Governate, Ishāq Ayyūb Ishāq, who told me about what he referred to as the Dishna Papers. He gave me on 12 September 1975 the name of an antiquities dealer in Alexandria, Tawfiq Sa'd, who, he said, had acquired some of them. On 30 December 1975, his son, a jeweller in Alexandria, Émile Tawfiq Sa'd, showed me pictures of antiquities his deceased father had sold. He even let me borrow the three pictures that had to do with manuscripts, which were soon identified as leaves of P. Bodmer XXIV (with the help of Albert Pietersma) and XL (with the help of Marvin W. Meyer and Hans Quecke).

I interviewed, repeatedly and year after year (in the Dishnā area alone: 18-21 November 1974; 11-13 January, 10-18 September, 25 November-20 December, 1975; 30 November - 6 December, 18-30 December 1976; 5-24 January 1978; 3-11 January, 15-20 December 1980), the principals in the story (listed in the order in which they occur in the narrative): the widow of 'al-



Qummuṣ' Manqaryūs (in Dishnā) and his son 'al-Qummuṣ' Tānyūs (in Cairo), Rāghib Andarāwus 'al-Qiss' 'Abd al-Sayyid (in Dishnā, Nag Hammadi, and Cairo), Riyāḍ Jirjis Fām and his son Nuṣḥī (both in Heliopolis), Mūsā Fikrī Ash'ryah (in Dishnā), Abū al-Wafā Aḥmad Ismā'īl (in Faw 'Qibh'), Sa'īd Diryās Ḥabashī (in Dishnā), and 'Aziz Suryā Aḥyah' (in Claremont, California).

These investigations ultimately located the discoverer, Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Sammān, whom I interviewed at Abū Manā' 11 August 1981. During the interview someone from the back of the crowd cried out that he, too, had been involved. I asked his name. He replied: 'Abd al-'Āl 'Umar, giving in the customary Arab way his and his father's name. I acknowledged the validity of his claim by adding his grandfather's name: al-'Abbādī, in this way incidentally accrediting myself as someone with the basic facts already in hand, which he then reported much as I had already heard them more than once. Obviously in such repeated interviews there are minor fluctuations and contradictions, at times protestations of innocence and self-serving interpretations, but in the cross-examination procedure the basic facts were again and again confirmed.

Occasional details provided by Riyāḍ fit remarkably well the actual inventory as we know it. The small rolls the size of a finger that Tano told him were letters could well have been the archival copies of letters of Pachomian Abbots. The book stuck at the bottom of the piriform jar that his son Nuṣḥī described getting out only by breaking the jar corresponds to the balled-up condition in which P. Bodmer XXII = Mississippi Coptic Codex II was acquired. The approximate size of the discovery and its variegated contents, both rolls and codices, both papyrus and parchment, were reported by the middlemen, though of course they were not able to report on the language of the texts or their contents.

Written documentation, when available, has provided striking confirmation, such as the parish diary of the Franciscan Church near Nag Hammadi confirming that José O'Callaghan had been there "to look for papers" in 1964-65, as Sa'īd Diryās Ḥabashī had maintained. Well after my investigations in Egypt had been completed, I located on 19 January 1984, stapled at ac. 1390 in the Accessions Book of the Chester Beatty Library, the typed note in Tano's wooden English and unusual spelling that summarized the conclusions regarding the provenience to which my investigations had already led me.

I am heavily indebted to Father Doutreleau, S.J., who has written me over a period of years (1976-1980), with authorization to publish details of the acquisition process in Cairo, together with memoranda he wrote in Cairo at the time and photographs taken in Cairo of materials he examined there for Bodmer that later became Bodmer Papyri. Kasser's repudiation of Father Doutreleau (whom he never met) as too senile to be taken seriously is valid neither in terms of his age nor in terms of his detailed, intelligent letters and the earlier records he has supplied. I called to Kasser's attention a doctorate *honoris causa* Father Doutreleau had recently received from the University of Cologne.

Confirmation has even belatedly come, as I searched secondary literature in this regard, from Kasser himself. In "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique," *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) 80, he reported: "I have serious reason to believe that they [the Bodmer Papyri] were found, like the Gnostic codices mentioned above, in a place near Nag Hammadi." In "Les dialectes coptes," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 73 (1973) 81, he sharpened the identification: "A bit to the east (north-east) of Nag Hammadi." However it is quite inaccurate to describe ("Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosiddetti Papiri Bodmer," p. 192 and n. 7) my identification of the site as an "echo" of his vague allusions to a site to the east of Nag Hammadi (the earliest of which he cites being his essay "Le dialecte protosaidique de Thèbes," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 28 [1982] 77, n.2). For I turned

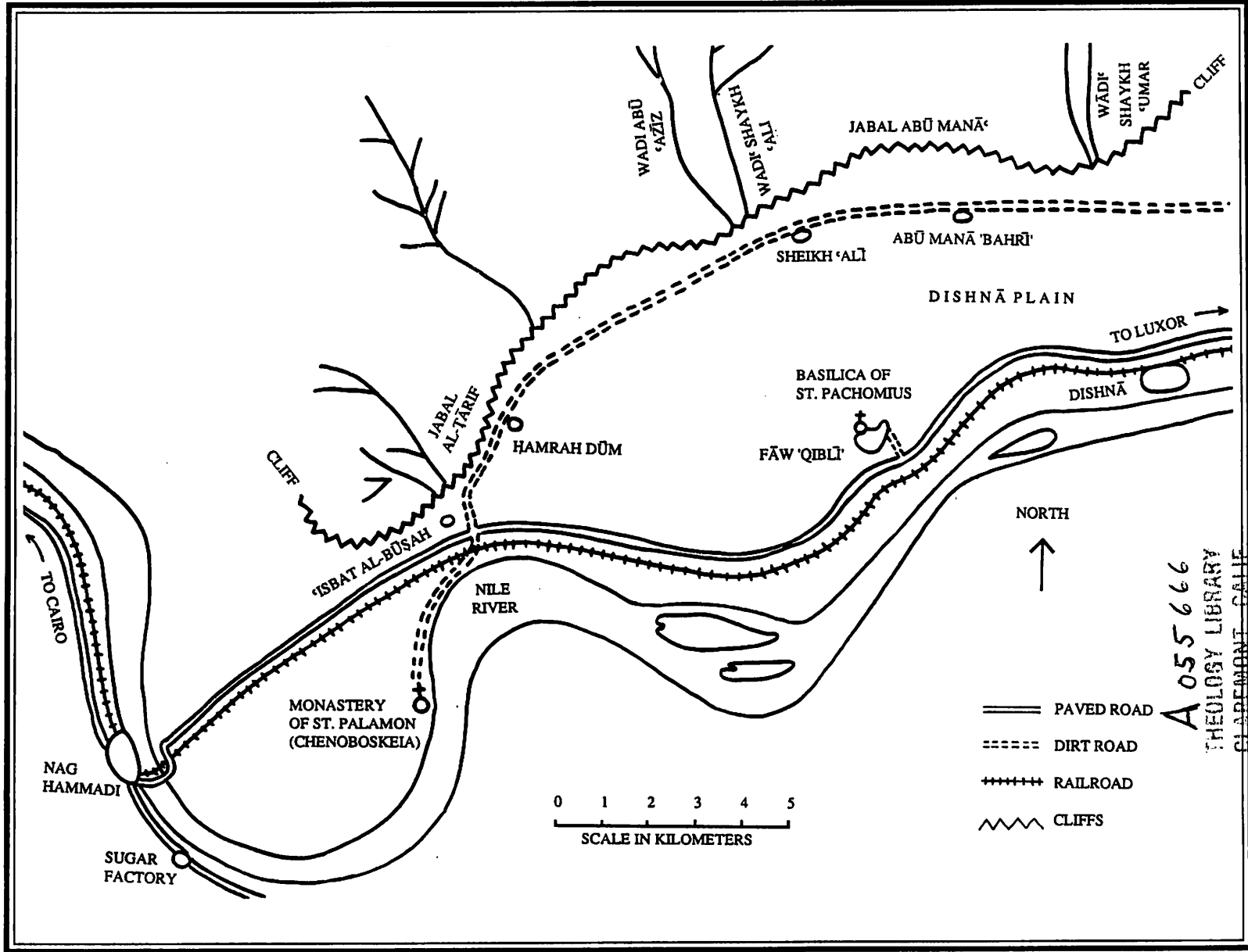
to secondary literature concerning the provenience of the Bodmer Papyri only after I had discovered that they were the same manuscript discovery that in Upper Egypt is known as the Dishna Papers.

Kasser reported ("Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosiddetti Papiri Bodmer," p. 192) that Tano gave "Dabba' or 'Debba' (Ed-Debba, 5 km to the east, slightly north-east of Nag Hammadi)" as the location. This village is too near the Nile to have preserved manuscripts intact over the years, in view of the annual inundations flooding this area prior to the construction of the High Dam. But it is the first railroad station upstream from Nag Hammadi, recommended in the 1914 English-language Baedeker as the station from which to visit the cliff area. It would be a more convenient point of departure for Abū Manāʿ than would be Dishnā (and for the Jabal al-Ṭarīf than would be Nag Hammadi), if one planned to go by foot or donkey, but would have been replaced by Dishnā (or Nag Hammadi) once a taxi came in question (al-Dabba lacks a taxi stand). It was in fact the first name used to locate the Nag Hammadi codices (by the Abbot Étienne Drioton, General Director of the Department of Antiquities, in a letter of 13 February 1948 to Jean Doresse, reporting on an interview with the same Tano, and referring to "the discovery of Daba"). Tano liked to associate the Dishna Papers with the Nag Hammadi codices for financial reasons. But since the main middlemen trafficking in the Dishna Papers were located at Dishnā, that has become the local designation.

Kasser reported ("Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosiddetti Papiri Bodmer," p. 192 and no. 6) having waited in publishing his own view about the discovery until Bodmer's secretary [Odile Bongard] revealed her view ("a few months ago"). When it turned out to disagree with that of Kasser, the documentation I had entrusted to him may have strengthened his hand in resisting her conclusion. For I was, in response to his query, able to clarify for him that the Dishnā to which I had referred was, in spite of the divergent French spelling, located in the area conformable to his rather than Mlle Bongard's view of the provenience. She had "affirmed in all certainty" (p. 193) that the site of the discovery was near a village named Mina or Minia in the Asyūt region. Kasser was not able to identify there a village with any such name (p. 193, n. 12), and hence rejected her view. The only way that she has then been able to reconcile her information with Kasser's alternative is to the effect that the Asyūt region may have been the provenience only of P. Bodmer XVII, which is generally recognized to derive from a different discovery from that of the bulk of the Bodmer Papyri. In fact the local Copts of the Dishnā region offer the popular etymology to the effect that Abū Manāʿ derives from the name of the Coptic saint, Mina, which may help to explain the garbled report by Mlle Bongard.

Kasser's own view ("Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosiddetti Papiri Bodmer," pp. 191-192) is based on information given to him by Tano 19 years after the discovery. Kasser had previously maintained (*Papyrus Bodmer VI. Livre des Proverbes*, 1960, p. viii, n. 1) that such information was irrelevant: "One knows the little credence one can give to the reports of the antiquities dealers when they cannot be confirmed by any archaeological investigation." Kasser's revised position that his interview with Tano was an exception to the usual unreliability of dealers in antiquities, in view of a special "friendship" with Tano and the fact that Tano's death was imminent, needs to be taken *cum grano salis*. I interviewed Tano about the Nag Hammadi Codices the same day (20 December 1971, when Kasser and I were both together in Cairo at a work session of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices and staying at the same hotel, the Garden City House). Tano seemed quite aggressive in spirit and in good health for a person his age. He died 9 February 1972. Dealers in antiquities assure all of us of special bonds of friendship ("You are my brother!"), which one should not take

too seriously. But as a matter of fact over the years Tano was telling the truth regarding the provenience with a remarkable degree of consistency to persons he trusted. Since he funded a clandestine excavation of the site of the discovery directed by Riyaḍ Jirjis Fām, Tano apparently had the correct information.



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